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ABSTRACT

Social processes in desegregated schools are much more complicated than is generally thought. Data from three desegregated schools are used to highlight the operation of two social processes which have an impact on the interracial behavior of students. One process stems from an academic status ordering, the other comes from power relations in the informal world of the students. There was abundant evidence of the strength of the status characteristic of reading ability in the three schools. The dominance of higher ranking readers over lower ranking readers was apparent when a mixed status group was given a collective task which forced them to evaluate each other's contributions. The low status student is affected not only by his or her own low general expectations for competence, but by low competence expectations from classmates. With regard to the second social process involving power relations among students, many black students were seen by both white and black classmates as being highly influential. This attributed power is a strong predictor of social status, just as is academic status. Therefore, student social power can become an effective treatment for problems stemming from academic status distinctions. (RLV)

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The Desegregated School: Problems in Status Power and Interracial Climate*

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The Desegregated School: Problems in Status Power and Interracial Climate

Social processes in desegregated schools are much more complicated than is generally thought. Thinking about these social situations tends to be simplistic; for example there have been some strange ideas about magic effects which occur when we bring children of different racial groups together. For a long time it was believed that putting lower class Black children next to higher achieving White children in a classroom would automatically confer benefits upon the academic performance of the Blacks. More recently, we hear that if teachers will design cooperative tasks for interracial classroom groups, all will be well.

In this paper, I will use data from three desegregated schools to highlight the operation of two social processes which have an impact on the interracial behavior of students. One stems from an academic status ordering; the other comes from power relations in the informal world of the students. Many of the findings on these schools are counter-intuitive. All of this helps to illustrate my central point: unless we have more humility about the complexities of school social structure, general recommendations as to "what to do" in desegregated schools may do more harm than good.

THE THREE SCHOOLS

These three schools were selected to participate in the Status Equalization Project[1], a two year study including a large scale field experiment in fifth and sixth grade classrooms. The project sought schools with approximately 50 percent minority children and a wide social class range. In many ways these three schools and the teachers in them who volunteered to work with us were exemplary. Teachers who are gravely dissatisfied with their teaching and principals who are defensive about their schools are unlikely to ask university teams into the schools and classrooms for lengthy observations. There was no tracking; so classrooms were academically mixed. In addition, all three schools made vigorous efforts to include the culture and history of the minority student populations as a legitimate part of the school program.

Two of the schools have been written up and are known for the excellent way in which they integrate children from different social backgrounds. The third school, Wordsworth, is a very large Grades 4-6 school, with 52 percent Black students; most of the subjects of the sample are drawn from fifth and sixth grade classrooms of this school. It is known for its academic orientation and has graduated many successful Black students; there are a significant number of influential and effective Black faculty; the PTA is predominantly Black and very active; the

[1] The project was supported by NIE: Grant No. OB-NIE-G-78-0212. The Principal Investigators were Elizabeth Cohen and James Deslonde.

principal at the time of the study was Asian and the Vice-Principal Black. There are signs of vibrant Black culture everywhere in the school from pictures of Black heroes to a special musical program of spiritual singing which all the children enjoy. The community context here is one of successful Black political activism.

ACADEMIC STATUS PROCESSES

One of the goals which creators and consultants of desegregated schools have is the construction of equal status conditions. The traditional view is that if the groups meet each other on an equal basis, there will be a diminution of prejudice, a "getting to know" each other and perhaps even becoming friends with each other. The difficulty has been to formulate what constitutes "equal status." Does formally defining the children as "all the same" and "treating them all the same"--what the sociologists call formal equality--lead to creation of equal status conditions?

If the minority children come from a markedly lower socio-economic background than the majority children and do less well in basic academic subjects, then it is extremely difficult to produce equal status behavior in the classroom, i.e., behavior where the participation and influence rates are unrelated to the academic and/or racial status of the children. Suppose that we bring together in the desegregated setting a group of four students, two of whom are Black and two of whom are White. These are classmates: the White students are more proficient in reading than the Black students. Give them a cooperative task which in no way involves reading, computation or other

academic skills. What happens? My research shows that there is a high probability that the White children will, on the whole, be more active and influential than the Black children. Furthermore, on a post-meeting questionnaire, there is a higher probability that the Whites with high academic status will be selected as having the better ideas (by all the group members).

Basically, this phenomenon has been known for many years in social psychology since the early studies of Katz (1958, 1960). More recently, it has been conceptualized as a process of status generalization in connection with Expectation States Theory developed by Berger, Cohen & Zelditch (1972). The situation I have just described entails at least two status characteristics, either of which has the capacity to produce a self-fulfilling prophecy in mixed status groups working on a collective task.

Theoretically, race is an example of what the theory calls a Diffuse Status Characteristic. Reading Ability functions as a specific status characteristic in the typical classroom setting. In either case we have individuals who are ranked by themselves and others as high and low on a status characteristic. Attached to the state of the status characteristic are beliefs about competence; for example, many people in this culture believe that Blacks are less competent on a wide range of tasks than Whites. Similarly, many teachers and students believe that those who have poor reading ability are intrinsically less intelligent than those who are better at reading. Race is only one example of a diffuse status characteristic; sex, and educational status are others.

The process of status generalization occurs when a mixed status group is given a collective task which forces them to evaluate each other's contributions. The expectations for competence and incompetence which are attached to the status characteristic, become activated and relevant to the new task even when it has no relevance to the initial differences in the group. When the status differences in the group become the basis for assignment of expected competence on the new task, the stage is set. High status actors expect and are expected to be more competent; therefore, they are more active and become more influential in the group process. Low status actors expect to be and are expected to be less competent; they are less active and turn out to be less influential in the group. Thus, the initial difference in the group on the status characteristic(s) becomes the basis for the observable power and prestige order on the new task.

This will occur despite the purely cooperative nature of the task. Yet it is hardly a desirable outcome for a desegregated school because it tends to confirm pre-existing racist beliefs concerning lesser intellectual competence of Blacks and Browns in American society. Beyond these implications for stereotyping, this phenomenon has implications for the academic goals of the desegregated setting. If students who are poor readers expect to be, and are expected to be incompetent at intellectual tasks, they will withdraw, refuse to work on learning tasks, and even become what is known as a "difficult" student, regardless of the challenge or intrinsic interest of

the task at hand. Teachers recognize this behavior as characteristic of the "low self concept student." What they do not recognize is that this behavior is a product of the social structure of the classroom as much as it is a characteristic of the individual.

Research Findings

The first study which applied Expectation States Theory to interracial groups of school children studied four-person groups of junior high school boys; two were White and two were Black. They were strangers to each other and were selected to have similar social class backgrounds. Their collective task was a game, called Shoot-the-Moon, which became the standardized criterion task for subsequent studies. On this task, the group has to make decisions as a team as to which way to move on the board. Videotapes of the interaction are scored for activity and for influence by counting who makes speeches relevant to the task and whose suggestions are accepted by the group for each of 14 turns.

Whites were significantly more active and influential on Shoot-the-Moon than Blacks (Cohen,1972). Subsequently the same pattern was observed for groups of ethnic-looking Chicanos and Anglos of the same sex and age group (Rosenholtz & Cohen, forthcoming), and for males and female groups of Indians and Anglos in Canada (Cook, 1974).

In the classroom, the status characteristic of reading ability has the same effect as the racial or ethnic status characteristic on mixed status groups of students. In all-White

groups, those who are ranked as better readers are much more active and influential on Shoot-the-Moon than those who are ranked as poorer readers (Rosenholtz, forthcoming; Stulac, 1975). Instead of seeing ability to read as a specific skill, children evidently view it as an index of general intellectual ability. They use rankings of each other to organize expectations for competence in new situations.

In the integrated school, when the low status ethnic group is also lower in socio-economic status, there is likely to be a strong correlation between being Black or Brown and being a poorer reader (although this is clearly not true for every Black or Brown student). In such schools there is a double basis for expecting depressed rates of activity and influence of minority students with poorer academic skills--academic status and racial status.

Status effects in three schools. In the three schools of this study, there was abundant evidence of the strength of the status characteristic of Reading Ability. In a sample of 22 fifth and sixth grade classrooms[2] the children rank ordered classmates of their own sex on how good they were at reading. The level of agreement on ranking between children was measured by Kendall's coefficient of concordance (Kendall's W). Out of 42 class groups of rankings, 33 had a Kendall's W of over .50, with some as high as .83. This is a high level of agreement,

[2] There were four classrooms at each of the two smaller schools and 14 at Wordsworth, the large school.

but not as high as in White classrooms with sharp social class differences. The teacher rankings show close agreement with those of the children.

Overall, more of the lower-ranked readers were Black or Chicano than the higher-ranked readers. In Wordsworth, examination of the average rank in each class and sex cohort shows that of the three lowest ranking readers, 84 are Black and 31 are White. Of the three best readers, 28 are Black and 70 are White. Despite the strength of the overall association between reading rank and race, the association in each classroom was not as great as the association for the school as a whole. For example, there was one classroom in Wordsworth where there were no Blacks named as the three highest or lowest for the boys' or the girls' ranking. Observations in these classrooms revealed tremendous academic heterogeneity. There were functional illiterates: mostly minorities; there were students functioning a grade or two behind their age group--mostly minority children but some Whites; there were children functioning at grade level, both minority and Whites; and there were highly precocious children who were working on very advanced materials, mostly White.

Initial studies of classmates playing Shoot-the-Moon showed marked dominance of higher ranking readers over lower ranking readers. In Wordsworth, there were eight four-person groups with two White High Readers and two Black Low Readers. High Readers accounted for 61.4 percent of successful influence; and Low Readers accounted for 38.6 percent. Also, there were six

all-Black groups with High and Low ranking readers; in these groups the percentages of successful influence for High and Low Readers were exactly the same as in the interracial groups.

In the second year of the study, pairs of students played Shoot-the-Moon, instead of four-person groups. These pairs were selected from classrooms so as to match on social power (as measured by a sociometric question on influence), and sex. No close friends were paired. Each pair was differentiated by at least three reading ranks so that the High saw the Low at least three ranks below him/herself and the Low saw the High at least three ranks above him/herself. Twenty-eight pairs were made up of Black members who were different on reading rank. Sixty-nine pairs had White High Readers and Black or Brown Low Readers.

Table 1 gives the results of a regression of probability of successful influence on the game on several predictors. If a person holds the lower reading rank of the pair, his/her probability of successful influence is greatly reduced. The F value for the standardized regression coefficient is highly significant. We shall have more to say about this regression in the next section, but let us dwell a moment on the implications of this finding.

Table 1 about here

Implications of Status Effects

The behavior of the interracial pair in Shoot-the-Moon illustrates, in microcosm, what happens when the teacher assigns mixed ability interracial groups a collective task. On the one hand, the spirit is cooperative and liking for one another may be

quite high. On the other hand, these interaction tasks will tend to confirm expectations of differential competence attached to academic status. Instead of White High Readers learning what the Minority Low Readers have to offer in the way of original suggestions on a non-academic task, they are likely to learn that Low Readers have less to say and are willing to give in to one's "superior" on academic status dimensions in the classroom. If the High Reader is White and the Low Reader is Black, it may have the unfortunate effect of confirming racist stereotypes of differential competence of Blacks and Whites.

There is no reason to accept this passivity of the poor reader as inevitable and a consequence of his/her supposedly limited ability. In a number of successful experiments, we have been able to show that if the expectations of all group members are altered, the result will be equal status behavior in interracial or mixed academic status groups. The behavior of the low status student is not a function of innate ability; we know this because we have seen significantly boosted participation and influence rates in treated groups (Cohen & Roper, 1972; Rosenholtz, 1979).

The fact that academic status operates within all-Black pairs is also important. It is not true in Wordsworth, as is often thought, that there is a problem of Blacks from a lower social class background thinking that school-related abilities are unimportant. At least in this school, they think academic skills are very important; there would not be such a strong

effect of academic status on behavior, if the Black Low Reader thought reading ability was an unimportant skill, irrelevant to other situations.

The low status student is affected not only by his or her own low general expectations for competence, but by low competence expectations from classmates. How can the teacher design necessary "success" experiences for such students in the face of uniform expectations for failure from peers? If we engage such a student in a collective task, we may prevent the withdrawal, disengagement, and non-task behavior, characteristic of unsuccessful students, but we will have inadvertently set the stage for more confirmation of incompetence.

POWER PROCESSES

The children have obviously internalized the official values of the school on academic status. However the children also have an informal social structure of their own, which may or may not bear a systematic relationship to the official culture of the school. Furthermore, there is probably one informal social structure for girls and quite a separate one for boys. Interpersonal influence relations stemming from this informal social world also have a powerful impact on observed interracial behavior.

The project staff spent much time in these schools, particularly in Wordsworth, over the two years of the study. Experienced classroom teachers who served as Research Assistants, In-Service staff and observers, came home from the field every day murmuring that they had never seen such "active" children. They

were usually talking about Black children. These research staff members admired the skill of the classroom teachers in managing such "dynamos" and maintaining the process of instruction. It is true that in these schools, certain Black children can be seen on the move. They are leading in games on the playground; they are constantly organizing other people's behavior. Inside and outside the classroom, they may be seen negotiating with White and Black students. There is very little of the pattern of voluntary social segregation characteristic of other integrated settings. In the classroom a trail of Black students, clamoring for academic attention, follows the teacher around as s/he moves around supervising small groups or seatwork. These children come up to you as an observer to find out what your name is, to check up on what you are doing and to make friends with you. At Wordsworth, the observers concluded they were visiting what is called "Black Turf."

These observations are confirmed by the questionnaire data. Each child in the 22 fifth and sixth grade classrooms named the three classmates of their own sex who "were most able to get them to do things" and the three who "were least able to get them to do things." In Wordsworth, the Black children were more often selected than the White children as socially powerful. In 10 out of 26 comparisons of boys and girls in each classroom, Whites chose more Blacks than would be expected by chance as socially influential.

Black Power Index

To capture the concept of social power attributed to Blacks by Whites, we calculated a simple statistic of the proportion of White choices going to Black students as socially influential. This statistic does not take into account the number of Blacks in the classroom, but is allowed to reflect Black dominance whether it comes about through sheer numbers of Blacks or through other means. This is the Black Power Index; it represents a purely contextural measure of the extent to which Blacks are seen as influential by Whites in the clasroom.

The average value of this index for Wordsworth is 48 percent although the index value varies considerably by classroom. For the girls, the value of the Black Power Index is closely related to the number of Black girls in the classroom across all three schools ($r = .70$). Therefore, in schools where Blacks are only one of the minority groups present, there is much less likely to be a high proportion of White choices going to Black girls on social influence. The same is not true for boys where there is much less of a relationship between the actual number of Black boys in a classroom and the proportion of White choices going to Blacks ($r = .217$). There are several classrooms in schools where Blacks constitute only 25 percent of the males, but 47 percent and 78 percent of White choices on the social influence question go to Black males.

Attributed Power

We also examined the standing of the individual in the influence structure of his/her classroom. The Attributed Power

score is calculated on the individual by adding up the number of choices received as mostinfluential, and subtracting the number of choices as least influential; this figure is divided by the total number of choices and multiplied by 100. There are many children who are never chosen as either influential or uninfluential. Therefore, the distribution of these scores shows some children with very high positive scores and some with very low negative scores, plus a large number who receive a score of "Zero" on this measure. These children are seen as holding "medium" social power.

In order to examine the relationship of attributed power to race and sex, the attributed power score is divided into High, Medium and Low; it is then cross-tabulated with race, for each sex (see Table 2). One result is clear from this analysis: the least likely group to hold positions of high attributed power are the White girls. Only 22 percent of the White girls have high scores on attributed power as compared to 44 percent of the Black girls. Black boys are slightly more likely to be High Power than White boys (35% vs. 28%).

Table 2 about here

To review what the analysis has documented thus far, many Black students are seen as highly influential in these schools. It is quite common for Whites to choose more Blacks than would be expected by chance; this is much more true of Black boys than Black girls. The group on the bottome of the social power structure are the White girls; there are only 28 out of 126 girls who have high scores on attributed power.

Academic Status and Attributed Power

Academic status and social influence are often found to be positively related in other classroom studies. Usually, academic status is one of a number of sources in interpersonal influence, especially for girls. Interpersonal influence appears to have other sources such as sports skills, for boys, but not for girls. In this population there is a positive relationship between these two social rankings only for Black girls. There is no relationship between attributed power and average reading rank for the boys or for White girls.

If the data are examined classroom by classroom, correlations between the average reading rank and the attributed power score shows only five sex-class cohorts with significant positive relationships out of 44 correlations. There are four with a statistically significant negative relationship, meaning that better readers have lower attributed social power scores. There are clearly many socially powerful students who receive a low reading rank from their peers. Minority children are by no means powerless in many classes despite their low academic ranking.

Effect of Attributed Power on Interracial Behavior

Now we are ready to turn back to Table 1 which allows us to see the simultaneous impact of Academic Status and Attributed Power on the probability of successful influence on the Shoot-the-Moon game. In this table, we have also entered two experimental treatments which failed to demonstrate any impact in this analysis. Table 1 gives a clear picture of the opposite effects

of academic status and attributed power. Being a Low Reader depresses one's influence; having higher attributed power boosts one's influence. What makes the effect of attributed power rather remarkable is the fact that these pairs of children were matched on their social influence perceptions of each other. Even though they rated each other similarly, the reputation they hold in the class as a whole evidently has a strong and independent effect in predicting the individual's success in being influential. In this analysis the Black Power Index did not prove to be a significant predictor of successful influence.

Because attributed power and reading status are rarely positively related in these classrooms (and sometimes negatively related), many of the Low Readers in the pairs of children who played Shoot-the-Moon actually had higher scores on attributed social power than the High Readers. Out of 96 pairs, 48 had Low Readers who had the same or higher attributed power than the Higher Readers. We have just seen that attributed power is a strong predictor of influence, just as is academic status for the whole sample. When the pair represents these two variables working in opposite directions, i.e., the person who is low on academic status is as high or higher on attributed power, the result is that the average difference in activity and influence between the High and Low members of the pair is close to "zero." In other words, we obtain what looks like equal status behavior as a result of these two forces working in opposite directions.

When the Low Reader is also lower in attributed power than the High Reader, there are a number of forces at work in

influencing the probability that the Low Reader will be an active participant. Table 3 shows several predictors operating in a regression equation where the predicted variable is the percentage of unique suggestions made by the Low Reader. This behavioral measure reflects how active the Low Reader was in making suggestions as to which way to proceed on the game board.

Table 3 about here

There are a number of separate predictors relating to power and academic status which demonstrate statistically independent effects on the activity of the Low Reader. First, there is the strong effect of attributed power on this half of the sample; both the attributed power of the High and Low Readers have independent effects on the activity rate of the Low Readers. His/her own attributed power has a positive effect and the High Reader's power has a negative effect. Secondly, we see academic status at work; the higher the reading rank attributed to the High Reader (by the Low Reader) the more depressed is the activity rate of the Low Reader. And finally, there is a positive effect of the Black Power Index: the activity rate of the Low Reader is higher if his/her classroom has a higher score on the Black Power Index. All these standardized regression coefficients have a statistically significant value of F.

The ability of the Black Power Index to predict behavior of the Low Reader who is interacting with a more socially powerful High Reader is especially provocative. Independent of personal perceptions of the person, independent of the general reputation

for influence held by self and others; there appears to be a "booster" effect on speaking up; this effect is related to having a classroom where one's own race is seen as influential by Whites.

BLACK POWER AS A NATURAL TREATMENT

The data on academic status effects pose a severe problem for these exemplary desegregated schools: How can self-fulfilling prophecies based on academic status be prevented in classroom interaction? The data analysis of the effects of social influence seem to provide one good answer: insofar as a "low status" group becomes socially influential in the context of the desegregated situation, Low Readers will be more likely to participate and be influential in classroom groups with mixed academic status. In the intense interaction of a class of children who interact five days a week, some children develop the reputation of being highly influential over others in the classroom, at least for a time. If the teacher designs mixed academic status groups with assignments on a collective task or team basis, both the influence and academic status processes will affect participation rates. Those minority students who are poor readers but socially powerful, will exhibit equal status behavior when interacting with majority students who are better readers.

This appears to be an exciting natural treatment; educators can take advantage of it if they understand its potential. In classrooms where there are informal and alternative sources of social power among the "weaker students" teachers are often

concerned lest the classroom authority system be undermined. Therefore, they try to maintain strict controls with close supervision of large-group instruction or individual seatwork. In so doing they deprive these students of an opportunity to participate in the academic sphere, probably encouraging them to turn more and more to the rewards of their peers.

It has been our experience that if the class is trained in how to behave in the small group setting, the control problems even in the classes in these schools can be managed. These influential Black students who are poor readers are relatively easy to work with in small group instruction. If the task involves interaction, they plunge in with great enthusiasm. Even if the task has more serious intellectual content than Shoot-the-Moon, they will be highly active in the peer context.

There is some additional evidence that these influential students are often seen as intellectually competent as well as likeable. After the pairs played Shoot-the-Moon, they filled out a questionnaire. Each subject chose the member of the pair who had the better ideas. Comparison of the half of the sample where the Low Reader had the same or higher attributed power than the High Reader to the other half, showed that the Low Reader was just as likely to be seen as having the better ideas as the High Reader. Thus, the effects of the power variable on behavior are not a function of some kind of coercion where the High Reader yields in public but privately, thinks the Low Reader is incompetent.

Attributed power correlates with sociometric status among Black students. Thirty-one percent of the High Power Blacks are highly chosen as friends; only 14 percent of the Low Power Blacks are as frequently chosen as friends. On the other hand, there are 21 Blacks who are Low on the friendship measure (receive only one or no choices as friends), but who are high in social power. In other words, there is an association between social power and being popular among the Black students. It would appear as if there is an alternative to academic ability in the minds of the children. There are some students who are not good in school work, but who are seen as likeable, smart and influential; these are likely to be minority students.

The results in Table 3 also suggest that there are powerless Low Readers who have very depressed rates of activity and influence. If these students are in a classroom context where their Black "brothers" are seen as influential by Whites, they are more willing to speak up and make suggestions. It is also the case that if a minority child who is powerless and a Low Reader is in a class where Blacks are rarely influential (possibly because of their small numbers), it would seem extremely difficult to produce equal status interaction.

These are two very different kinds of students even though both may be Black and both may be poor readers; they occupy very different places in the social structure of the classroom. The powerful student may only require the opportunity to work in small groups on school-related tasks, to be drawn into more successful, active efforts at learning. The powerless student

may have to experience an opportunity to be influential with peers, possibly in classroom leadership roles, so as to change the power position. In addition, he/she needs to demonstrate intellectual competence in a public setting. This can be done through highly controlled rehearsal and preparation; or the entire definition of what constitutes intellectual ability must undergo change. The student and his/her peers all need to acquire changed expectations for the Low Reader's competence.

INTERRACIAL CONFLICT

In a school such as Wordsworth where 48 percent of White choices go to Blacks as being influential, many educators would want to know whether or not some of this social influence stems from interracial coercion. Of the three schools, Wordsworth does have the highest level of physical conflict, reported by the children. Using Deslonde's Multicultural Social Climate Scale, we asked the children to report on how frequently they saw aggressive behavior ranging from pushing, name calling, to stealing and extortion. There are two indices created from these items on conflict. One, called the Generalized Conflict Index (7 items) includes items dealing with aggressive behavior with no specific interracial overtones. A second Index, called the Intergroup Conflict Index (5 items) has distinct racial or religious implications. For example, the items on frequency of "making jokes about skin color" or "joking about the way someone talks" or "messing in someone's hair" are part of the Intergroup Conflict Index. In contrast, frequency of "being pushed around," "using someone's belongings without permission," or "name

calling," are items of the General Aggression Index (see Appendix). Average scores for both indices show that one of the three schools has a far lower level of reported conflict of either type than the other two; Wordsworth clearly has the highest level, both relatively and absolutely.

Nevertheless, it is a grave mistake to perceive Wordsworth as a hotbed of interracial conflict. There is an extremely strong correlation between scores on the two conflict indices in all schools; in Wordsworth r = .63. Wordsworth has a generally aggressive environment. Interracial aggesssion is part of a pattern of the generally undesirable way people treat each other in this school. There is no firmly enforced general policy on how people should treat each other in the corridors and play yard. In the classrooms, the teachers maintain a safe and reasonably well-ordered environment.

The very low reports of conflict in one of the schools is the result of a long and skilled campaign on the part of the principal working closely with his staff. Norms of humane treatment of one another are written up on a mural at the entrance of the school; these behaviors are modeled by the faculty and considerate behaviors are practiced in special activities within the classrooms. This achievement of a warm, safe, humane environment does not mean, however, that there is no problem of Anglo dominance of minority children on the behavioral measures. Problems of academic status are by no means the same thing as human relations problems in the environment. Nor does this excellent interracial climate prevent the

the powerless state of minority students (especially girls) when they are only a few of a kind in their classroom and are also poor readers.

Human relations in a desegregated school is an important issue; I am in no way disagreeing with this position. However, the phenomenon of conflict may be quite an independent dimension from the power and status problems I have described. Furthermore aggressive conflict may not be a symptom of poor race relations. Very often, in desegregated schools, faculty interpret every aggressive incident involving different races as "race conflict." In some schools that may well be true; in these schools it probably is not true. It seems more a product of the social class composition of the school and is affected by whether or not the administration chooses to do something to enforce and teach pro-social behavior throughout the school.

STUDENT SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND THE TEACHER

Data on behavior in interracial groups testify to the importance of academic status and interpersonal power. But where do those academic status structures come from? The close agreement between teacher ranking and student ranking clearly suggests that children are responding to evaluations the teachers make of reading skill. In the case of some of the children who are functionally illiterate, students don't need the teacher's evaluation to rank them at the bottom. Some teachers use instructional methods which make such a status structure clear and consistent. For example, some use rigid ability grouping in reading. Furthermore, they make reading a prerequisite for

success in other academic subjects such as social studies. They use competitive evaluation procedures only, so that children are very clear as to who are the academic "winners" and "losers." Rosenholtz and Wilson found that teachers who used competitive evaluation procedures and traditional large group instruction with standardized tasks had classes where there was more agreement on reading rank than teachers who used alternative task and evaluation structures (Rosenholtz and Wilson, forthcoming).

In these schools the connection between what the teacher does in the classroom and the social structure of the students is a two-way relationship. Some of our findings can be interpreted as the effect of the power and influence relations among the children on student interaction with the teacher. Other findings can be interpreted as the reverse: i.e., the impact of teacher's techniques on minority student participation and interracial relationship. I shall only bring out a few findings here to illustrate my point.

Student-Teacher Interaction

Systematic scoring of the frequency with which teachers interacted with children of different racial groups was carried out during repeated classroom visits. By and large, the results showed that minority children were receiving slightly more interaction than would be expected on a chance basis from the teacher on academic matters. White children were receiving about what would be expected on a chance basis or quite a bit less than the chance model in some classrooms. On non-academic

interaction with the teacher, Lujan found that teachers were more likely to exhibit warm friendly interaction on non-academic matters with minority children than with majority children (Lujan, in progress). He interpreted this as a product of the teacher's necessity of coopting active, low-achieving children into conformity and pliability in classroom activities.

The children themselves report how frequently they receive teacher's assistance of various kinds in Deslonde's Multi-cultural Climate Scale. An index of several items on teacher assistance (see Appendix A), shows dramatic differences according to race and sex. Table 4 shows the results of an analysis of variance conducted on the Teacher Assistance Scale; it shows strong independent effects of race. In Table 5, we present the proportions of children who have high scores (scores of 7 or more) on the Teacher Assistance Scale by Race, Sex and Social Power. This table makes it very clear who is reporting more teacher assistance. Blacks are more likely to have high Teacher Assistance Scores than Whites; boys are more likely to have high scores than girls. Furthermore, this table shows that the sub-group most likely to report High Teacher Assistance are the Low Power Black Boys (35%). In contrast only a few of the Low and Medium Power White girls are reporting High Teacher Assistance (10% and 5%). Low Power White boys are also reporting less teacher assistance.

Table 4 about here

Table 5 about here

I think it would be a mistake to see these differences as a product only of either teacher expectations or teacher instructional techniques. To some extent the teachers are busy responding to the lively behavior presented by these youngsters and to the organizational imperative of keeping everyone on task. Also, the children are undoubtedly co-opting the teacher's assistance as well as the teacher co-opting the children. For example the Low Power Black boys who may be "nobody" in the important world of their peers may be the very boys we see following the teacher around clamoring for attention. The High Power Black boys may feel little need for the teacher; they may be functioning in "another world." The White girls who report so little teacher assistance may be the best students who "require very little" or they may merely be docile and be overlooked amidst the "hustle bustle" of these classrooms.

Effect of Teacher Instruction

There are some results which illustrate how teaching techniques relate to minority study participation and inter-racial relations. Gorrez found in these schools that the teacher's use of a rich individualized evaluation system was a positive predictor of minority students' report of more academic participation as compared to the participation of minority students in classrooms without such techniques. This is probably a by-product of an academic status structure which has been modified by individualized as opposed to competitive evaluation. If low academic status students receive more favorable evaluations over a wide variety of tasks, they are undoubtedly more likely to participate in academic tasks.

Gorrez also found that minority students in classrooms with this kind of individualized evaluation system were less likely to report peer pressure against making friends of different races (Gorrez, 1979). When academic status which tends to divide the racial groups in these classrooms is softened, one result may well be more reaching across racial lines.

ORIGINS OF MINORITY GROUP INFLUENCE

The picture we have drawn is purposely intricate. Throughout this picture runs a theme of influence and activity of minority students. Where does it come from? So many educational writers see the school as a faithful replication of the economic dominance relations of the outer society. Wordsworth, where the Blacks are the most influential and active, is not in a community dominated by Black economic interests although the Blacks are politically active.

I would propose that the influence of Black children we have seen in the two-person group, and in relations with their peers and the teacher, stems from the organizational context of the school. There are several important features of that context particularly in Wordsworth, that communicate to all concerned that Black people may tell White people what to do and that Black culture and language are a valuable and legitimate part of American society. There are important Black adults who administer and teach in the school; the children see Black authority figures tell White authority figures what to do. There is deep respect for Black culture in the school.

Iadicola's analysis of a large sample of desegregated schools shows how organizational context comes to affect the extent to which majority children will dominate minority children in interracial interaction. He found several important variables which predict the extent to which majority children will dominate minority children in interaction on a collective task. These include racial composition, proportion of minority faculty, and the presence of multicultural curricula. These variables are so intercorrelated that Iadicola could not analyze their effects separately, but it was true that in schools where the minority population was larger, where there were more minority faculty and where there were multicultural curricula, majority children were less likely to dominate in small groups (Iadicola, 1979).

The impact of influential Black children on interaction in Wordsworth is probably the same phenomenon Iadicola found in schools with faculty and curricular commitment to Blacks. His findings show that this holds true for Chicano-Anglo desegregated schools as well as Black-White mixed schools. From my theoretical point of view, power in this organizational context appears to act as a treatment for status problems, at least for those minority children who are influential.

CONCLUSION

This paper has presented data from three exemplary integrated schools--schools which carry out many practices currently recommended for successful integration. We have seen that these schools still face a number of serious problems.

The social structure of their classrooms is producing a problem for interracial interaction. Even in purely cooperative interracial groups there is a strong probability that White students who are seen as better readers will dominate minority students who are seen as poorer readers. This will occur even if the task does not require reading or other conventional academic skills. This is an effect of an academic status sytem functioning within each classroom; the effects of Reading Ability as a status characteristic can be seen among Black students as well as among interracial groups. It has been our experience in treating this problem that intervention must take place at the classroom level; a number of basic changes in classroom task and evaluation structure are necessary. The introduction of a curriculum unit or simple cooperative groups or even more complex grouping patterns will not be sufficient to change this pattern.

Independent of this problem of academic status, the organizational context of the school can produce a situation where many of the minority group children will become socially powerful. They may be seen as smart and likeable as well as influential. These children will not show a depressed rate of interaction when working with majority children who have higher academic status. Thus, student social power can become an effective treatment for problems stemming from academic status distinctions. However, this natural treatment will not lead to academic improvement for minority children unless they are given a chance to participate in challenging intellectual

and academic tasks in the social context of group interaction. Under present circumstances, teachers are not likely to allow this to happen. They are concerned lest the alternative social system of the students "take over" the authority system of the classroom and so are very timid about using such techniques. The teachers will need assistance in introducing strong new norms for classroom behavior to govern this radically different method of instruction.

Although this approach has much merit for the influential minority student who is a poor reader, much more will need to be done for the minority student who is low in social power and low in academic status. If the organizational context and racial composition is not favorable, there may be few socially powerful minority students. As long as minority students are on the bottom of the formal or informal social structure of the classroom, it is my belief that it will be extremely difficult either to integrate them socially or to bring about active, engaged learning behavior. The problem of the social standing of such students may well have to be manipulated through opportunities for leadership in the classroom. We have been able to develop workable techniques for doing so. In addition, there must be interventions designed to alter the competence expectations held for this child by members of the classroom and by the child him/herself.

We have also argued that the problem of the human relations climate in the school can be quite independent of both academic status and the social power of the minority students. Furthermore,

we have argued that a poor human relations climate should not necessarily be viewed as one of "bad race relations,"--it may simply be a product of the social class composition of the school and the lack of a good administrative policy with firm and fair enforcement.

Finally, we have tried to point out that what the teacher does has an impact on the social structure of the students, and even on the relationship between the races. What is much more surprising is that the social structure of the students has a profound impact on the teacher. The teacher is busy trying to co-opt many minority students into doing their work; but simultaneously there are many minority students trying to co-opt the teacher!

The wide range of academic skills in these classrooms presents a formidable technical challenge for the teacher. In Wordsworth there were frequently no teacher aides and rather large classes. If these competent teachers are really expected to make headway with children who have thus far failed to learn to read, s/he is going to need far more technical and staffing assistance than is now being given. It is a good thing to avoid tracking and to compose classrooms heterogeneously, but academic goals cannot be achieved without paying out the necessary money for the support system which should accompany sophisticated individualized instruction.

In conclusion, there is so much more that needs to be done in the way of intervention at all levels--even in these exemplary schools. There is no way that teacher workshops, the introduction

of simple grouping techniques, or any of the other techniques now recommended will produce the desired result for integrated schools. These desired results are, in my opinion, attainable. But if we don't start facing the complexity of what we are trying to do in the context of such a complicated social structure very soon, I am afraid we will never see many of the results we are seeking.

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Table 1

Determinants of Percentage of Successful Influence on All S's on Criterion Task: Standardized Regression Coefficients

Predictors	Beta	F
Treatment A	.017	.090
Treatment A + B	-.005	.007
Black Power Index	-.002	.001
Attributed Power	+.181	11.582**
Low Reader	-.511	93.193**

R^2 = .300

** P <.01

Table 2

Distribution of High Medium and Low Attributed Power Scores By Race and Sex

Sex	Race	Low (-95 to -10)	Medium (-9 to +10)	High (+11 to +95)		N
Boys	Black	23.1%	42.1%	34.7%	(100%)	121
	White	31.1%	40.6%	28.3%	(100%)	106
Girls	Black	22.3%	36.9%	40.8%	(100%)	130
	White	44.4%	33.3%	22.2%	(100%)	126

Table 3

Regression on Percentage Unique Suggestions of Low Reader by Attributed Power, Black Power, and Reading Rank of High Reader: For Those Pairs Where Attributed Power of Low Reader < or = High Reader

	Predictors	Beta	F
	Treatment A	.028	.043
	Treatment A + B	.083	.398
	Attributed Power, Low Reader	.509	13.838**
	Attributed Power, High Reader	-.353	6.234**
*	Reading Rank, High Reader	-.342	6.37**
	Black Power Index	.331	7.317**
	Average Reading Rank, Low Reader	-.074	.293

R^2 = .38

** p <.01

*This is the Reading Rank given to the High Reader by the Low Reader.

Table 4

Effects of Sex and Race on Teacher Assistance Scale Score: ANOVAR

Source of Variation	S.S.	D.F.	F	Signif.
Main Effects	85.742	5	5.618	.000
Sex	2.888	1	.946	.331
Race	83.092	4	6.806	.000
2 Way Interaction	3.418	4	.198	.939

N = 541

Table 5

Percentage Reporting High Teacher Assistance by Race, Sex and Attributed Social Power

Sex	Race	Social Power	% High Teacher Assistance	N
Boys	Black	Low	35.7%	28
		Medium	28.0%	50
		High	21.0%	42
	White	Low	9.4%	32
		Medium	25.6%	43
		High	17.9%	28
Girls	Black	Low	23.1%	26
		Medium	28.6%	42
		High	25.5%	47
	White	Low	9.8%	51
		Medium	6.1%	33
		High	21.7%	23

APPENDIX A

Multicultural Social Climate Scale*

Teacher Assistance Scale

Items

How frequently do you talk with your teacher individually or in private about the:

		Very Often	Often	Some-times	A little	Never
1.	The progress of your work.	5	4	3	2	1
2.	Your own goals and interests.	5	4	3	2	1
3.	Trouble you might be having with school work.	5	4	3	2	1
4.	Special things that you do well in school work or in the classroom.	5	4	3	2	1
5.	Your feelings about the class.	5	4	3	2	1
6.	Your feelings in general.	5	4	3	2	1

Reliability Coefficient:

Alpha = .75

*This instrument was developed by Dr. James Deslonde.

CONFLICT INDICES

Intergroup Conflict

How often, if at all, do students at this school have disagreements, arguments, or fights because of the following:

	Very Often	Often	Some-times	Not Often	Not at all
1. Making jokes about someone's skin color.	5	4	3	2	1
2. Messing in someone's hair.	5	4	3	2	1
3. Joking about the way someone talks.	5	4	3	2	1
4. Being hasseled for money.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Joking about someone's religion.	5	4	3	2	1

Reliability Coefficient:
Alpha = .775

General Conflict

1. Being pushed around.	5	4	3	2	1
2. Being threatened.	5	4	3	2	1
3. Making jokes about someone's belongings.	5	4	3	2	1
4. Lying about things.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Making jokes about people in someone's family.	5	4	3	2	1
6. Name calling.	5	4	3	2	1
7. Using someone's belongings without permission.	5	4	3	2	1

Reliability Coefficient:
Alpha = .838